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STALIN
vs.
SUN YAT-SEN

*The Truth
About Life in
Communist China*

Published by the
FREE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Part I

What I Saw In Communist China.....Page 7

The first part of this pamphlet consists of excerpts from a series of articles entitled "What I Saw in Communist China," published in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* during November and December, 1950, by its correspondent "lately resident in China." In reprinting this material here, the Free Trade Union Committee of the A. F. of L. acknowledges its great thanks to the *Manchester Guardian* as a foremost organ of liberalism in the English-speaking world.

Part II

Why I Left Communist ChinaPage 15

The second part of this pamphlet presents the full text of a radio broadcast entitled "Why I Left Communist China," delivered in August, 1950, from Taiwan to the Chinese mainland by Ma Shun-Yi, sister-in-law of Chou En-lai, the Premier and Foreign Minister of Communist China.

For further material and information on organized labor's struggle to defend world democracy, free trade unionism and peace, write to the

**FREE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York.**

Introduction

Among those who detest totalitarianism there are some who nevertheless feel that Communist dictatorship in Asia might not be so bad at the moment. They have come to believe that, despite all the evils and cruelties it has manifested in Europe, the Kremlin brand of totalitarian despotism is progressive in comparison with the regimes which the Communists have overthrown and replaced.

MYTH OF "AGRARIAN REFORM"

This misconception is at the root of the utterly false conclusion that the Communist movement in China is not really Communist but only a special Chinese expression of "agrarian reform" and democracy. The Communists have systematically and energetically exploited this baseless evaluation to further their own subversive and dictatorial movement. Towards this end they have planfully geared their world-wide propaganda machine to slander, vilify and discredit particularly those forces and individuals who have stood in the way of their usurpation of power. Unfortunately for the democratic cause and world peace, many non-Communists have fallen for these deliberate lies and carefully planted falsehoods.

For instance, according to the Communists (and those who wittingly or otherwise have surrendered to them the moral right to pass judgment on people), Generals Fu Tso-yi, Chang Chih-Chung and Ch'en Chien and Mr. Shao Li-tse were discredited elements and dangerous reactionaries as long as they were part of the Chinese Nationalist government. But these same "discredited elements" became pure progressives and "agrarian reformers" the moment

they betrayed their own movement and deserted to the Communist clique. On the basis of this Communist "morality" General Fu Tso-yi became an honorable element and worthy enough to become one of Mao Tse-tung's vice chairmen of the People's Political Consultative Conference (P.P.C.C.) only *after* he sold out to the Russian-dominated Communists and betrayed and surrendered Peking to them.

Similarly, General Ch'en Chien became an element worthy of being made another one of Mao Tse-tung's vice presidents only *after* he treacherously turned Changsha over to the Communist quislings. Presumably, General Ch'en Chien must have had special credit and favor with the Communists because, when the army which he commanded captured Nanking in March, 1927, he roused mob brutalities against the missionaries with such results that Dr. Williams, vice president of Nanking University, was murdered.

REWARD FOR DOUBLE-CROSSERS

And for double-crossing his Kuomintang colleagues while serving as their official representative in the negotiations with General George C. Marshall, General Chang Chih-Chung has been rewarded by Mao Tse-tung with a vice presidency of the P.P.C.C.

When he was loyal to democratic socialism and the Nationalist cause, Mr. Shao Li-tse was fiercely denounced by the Communists as a discredited reactionary element. But the moment he went back on his democratic socialism and became a supporter of the same Communist press which he had previously branded as "degenerate journalism," Shao Li-tse was transformed by Moscow's alchemists into a very precious element. He was made one of the six vice presidents of the P.P.C.C.

The excellent survey made by the *Manchester Guardian* renders an invaluable service to the cause of truth by presenting irrefutable facts which expose the fraudulent claims and the dangerous, reactionary character of Communist totalitarian rule in China.

CHINESE PEOPLE BETRAYED

The political and economic background briefly described in this survey lends added significance to the personal account given by Ma Shun-yi in a recent broadcast to the Chinese mainland from Formosa. Her statement, reprinted in full in this pamphlet, is one of the most vivid and concrete examples at hand of the dreadful tragedies which the Communist success has brought on the people of China. Ma Shun-yi is the sister-in-law of Chou En-lai, the Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Communist "People's Republic" and also a member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party. Her inability and refusal to conform with the cruel spirit and brutal actions of that regime is typical of the attitude of the vast majority of Chinese people.

Together, her account and the *Manchester Guardian's* report constitute a conclusive indictment, in both human and national terms, of the dire plight imposed on the people of China by the Communist reign of domestic terror and international aggression.

Under the tutelage and terror of Mao Tse-tung as Stalin's chief henchman in China, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's three principles have been flagrantly outraged in Communist China. The Mao Tse-tung dictatorship has betrayed China to the Kremlin, robbed the Chinese people of their national independence and placed their great human and material resources at the disposal of the Moscow mad-

men driving for world domination and war. Instead of government of, by and for the people, the Chinese mainland is now groaning under the yoke of a despotic dictatorship doing the bidding and slavishly serving the interests of Russian imperialism.

ASIAN GENDARME OF SOVIETS

The social and economic reforms which Dr. Sun Yat-Sen found so urgent for China are now being perverted by the Mao Tse-tung coterie into serving their narrow factional interests. Everything is being sacrificed to the building of a powerful war machine which will serve as the gendarme of Soviet imperialism throughout Asia. Totalitarian Communism and its high priest, Stalin, are the very opposite and constitute the complete negation of everything progressive, noble and humane which the immortal Sun Yat-Sen had sought to attain for the Chinese people.

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman,
Free Trade Union Committee,
American Federation of Labor.

What I Saw in Communist China

The reaction against the over-individualism of the West is a sound one, but Communism establishes a system in which the individual does not count at all. A man must have no activity apart from group activity, no mind apart from the group mind. All must want to do the same things; life becomes standardized until it is reduced to a dead level of fearful monotony. There is no greater term of abuse than to be called a "democratic individualist."

NON-CONFORMITY BANISHED

In schools and universities, group examinations and group marking are the fashion. In the former case, a group of students work together, then select one of their number to take the examination, and his mark becomes the mark of the whole group. A student said to me: "In future, all great works of art—novels, plays, poems—will no longer be the work of a genius like Shakespeare, but the product of the group mind." Non-conformity is regarded with horror. Everyone must want to march in the streets, dance the yang ko, attend political lectures; and to say "I don't feel like it" or "I'm not interested" is a sign of reaction which must be suppressed. Thought control is taken for granted, and both the intellectual and the worker must continually reveal their thoughts to the authorities, through the writing of their life story, questionnaires and self-analysis to show that they are assimilating the correct doctrines.

Nothing may be done without official permission; a man must visit the police station to obtain permission to change his residence, go on a holiday, visit a friend for a night or hold a meeting. His house may be searched day or night;

he is regularly visited by the police, who ask the same endless questions about his family, religion, income and all the details of his past life. Such things are bitterly resented, and this regimentation takes the zest and savor out of life.

Bureaucracy is inevitable in such a system, and millions of officials are needed to carry out the work of administration and direct the people's lives The people regard them as alien intruders, and in some country districts the deep resentment of the local population has resulted in the murder of officials. Great jealousy exists between different ranks and zones of the bureaucracy, and a simple request may be held up for months while different levels and areas wrangle as to whose responsibility it is.

"RICE COMMUNISTS"

One of the gravest charges against the system is that it is shot through and through with hypocrisy—that by its very nature it results in hypocrisy. When conformity is the price of a job and security, then all will conform. The number of "rice Communists" far exceeds that of "rice Christians." Outright persecution of suspect or unreliable persons has not been necessary, because the threat of unemployment and starvation is a more powerful weapon. Teachers, clergymen and others in public life join in hurling abuse at America, in praising Russia, in extolling the virtues of Communism, in signing Communist manifestoes, when many of them privately do not believe a word of what they are saying. It is impossible to know a man's real opinions unless you get him privately in his own room, and even then he will not dare to speak unless he is talking to a trusted friend. The Communists themselves admit that many opportunists have joined their party, but the whole regime leads to opportunism, hypocrisy and lying. . . .

Communism is to be condemned not for its economic re-

forms, which are often excellent in themselves, but for what it does to the mind and spirit of man. The Kuomintang in its brutality killed men's bodies; Communism kills their spirits. It calls light darkness and darkness light, and says: "Evil, be thou my good." Communist terror is so subtle, so insidious, yet so powerful that instead of driving men to rebellion it drives them to suicide. No one will ever know how many thousands have committed suicide in China since liberation. Never reported in the newspapers, dozens every day in every large city quietly throw themselves in the river or find other convenient ways of disposing of themselves. In Wuhan those who throw themselves in the Yangtze are described as having passed the entrance examination for the Yangtze University.

CHINESE PRAYING FOR WAR

The Chinese can see no hope for the future—no hope except the Third World War. While the rest of the world talks of it with fear and anxiety, the Chinese eagerly await it, praying that it may break out soon. Every incident between Russia and America is hailed with joy as bringing it one step nearer.

. . . The Communist accepts this new way of life voluntarily. What of the others? A way of life, such as that of the monk, however excellent when chosen voluntarily, becomes tyranny when it is imposed on others by force. But that is what is happening in China. All must learn to conform to this new pattern of life. . . .

One technique much used as a means of discipline and to correct faults is that of public confession. Any trouble in school, factory or government office is fully ventilated in the newspapers; people write frank criticisms of the actions of the headmaster, manager or official concerned, and when the matter has been aired for a suitable length

of time a grovelling apology is published from the offending person. It is a favorite method of the police, and every newspaper daily carries many advertisements expressing regrets for the infringement of regulations, gratitude to the police for kindly pointing out their errors and a promise never to do it again.

Workers are urged to greater production by socialist competition. Output per man is analyzed, and labor heroes are awarded decorations as a spur to others. Often a Communist enthusiast in a factory will set a pace which others cannot emulate and thus causes excessive strain. Communist officials themselves work at such a pace and under such a strain that health breakdowns and early death are common, and stomach ulcers are one of their occupational diseases. Yet the skillful propaganda does have its effect in producing greater service and efficiency. The Communists do not talk of shorter hours of work and higher pay but of the need for sacrifices for the good of the state. . . .

FAMILY STRUCTURE SHATTERED

In the new pattern of life family ties count for little. Children turn against their families and write to the newspapers denouncing their parents for their bourgeois way of life. Few men can now earn enough to support a family, and the Communists deliberately break family life by sending husband and wife to work in different places. They never employ a man in the area of his own home but send him to some distant part of the country. The greatest practical interference with the people's lives is the system of police control. Every person is registered with the police, has his identity card and he may not stay a single night away from home without police permission. The police regularly inspect every house to check on the residents, often coming in the middle of the night to search the

house. Anyone found there without permission spends the rest of the night in the police station and then has to publish an apology in the newspaper. These measures enable the police to keep a strict check on the population, and have helped to reduce crime as well as make it impossible to carry out reactionary activities, but such interference with daily life is intolerable and causes much grumbling.

The People's Political Consultative Conference (P.P.C.C.) met for the first time in Peking in September, 1949, when it approved all the Organic Laws of the People's Republic. The total number of delegates was 573, or 662 including the alternates, who had the right to be present but not to vote. . . .

PEOPLE DEPRIVED OF POWER

While the P.P.C.C. could claim to be truly representative of every side of Chinese society, the members themselves could not claim to represent their own organizations, for they were appointed by the government. For example, the five Christian representatives could in no sense whatever claim to represent the Christian Church; they had not been appointed by the church, nor did they represent the mind of the church.

The Government Council was elected by this body. Mao Tse-tung became the chairman, and among the six vice chairmen were leading members of the Kuomintang, including General Fu Tso-yi, who surrendered Peking to the Communists, Chang Chih-chung and Shao Li-tse, who had been members of the Kuomintang peace mission to Peking, and General Ch'en Chien, who had surrendered Changsha. . . .

The following points may be noted about this constitution:

1. The P.P.C.C. at present, and later the National

Assembly, is a large body of busy men and women who can, in the nature of things, meet only very occasionally. It cannot exercise constant supervision of the government. Real government is in the hands of the Government Council and the State Administrative Council. This is in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism which takes effective power out of the hands of the people and concentrates it in a few hands.

2. When elections are held, they will follow the well-tried Communist pattern of presenting a single list of candidates to be accepted or rejected as a whole. Only those parties and individuals who follow the party line are allowed to engage in political activity. While the basis of the constitution is supposed to be universal suffrage, all those who do not fully approve the government policy are classed as reactionaries and so deprived of all political rights.

DUMMIES FOR "DEMOCRACY"

3. In common with the usual practice in Communist countries, there is no mention in the constitution of the real power in the country—the Communist Party. Behind all the assemblies and government councils stands the party as the real government. The party determines what subjects shall be discussed and what resolutions passed in the different assemblies. Non-Communists in the government are in a very uncomfortable position, for they know—and everyone knows—that they are dummies put there by the party to give the appearance of genuine democracy to the government.

It is sometimes claimed that the New Democracy is peculiarly Chinese and that it is not a product of Marxism. This is said by those who hope that Chinese Communism

will develop on independent lines. But it is thoroughly in line with Marxist theory. . . .

It is thus quite clear that the New Democracy is not Chinese in origin and, just as this policy was suddenly abandoned by Lenin in 1917, so it may be abandoned at any moment by the Chinese Communists, according to the dialectics of the situation.

COMMUNIST REGIME'S TRUE NATURE

The system, however, sounds very reasonable and is calculated to allay the fears of the doubters. As a Chinese friend remarked to me after reading *The New Democracy* for the first time, "Why, this is merely British socialism—there's nothing to be afraid of here." Most people took the New Democracy at its face value and welcomed the opportunity of working with the Communist Party to clean up the mess left by the Kuomintang and to rebuild a strong, democratic state. But even one year of the new regime has revealed the true nature of the New Democracy. As in everything else under Communism, the important thing is not the statement of policy but the manner and spirit in which it is carried out. "Nothing is what it seems or seems what it is" applies even more to Communism than it does to the British Constitution. The New Democracy is not new, it is certainly not democratic, and anything less like British socialism cannot be imagined. . . .

A great deal is said about the rights of the people and in this People's Republic everything belongs to them—the People's Bank, the People's Bank-Notes, the People's Police, the People's Army, etc. But who are the people? Not all the inhabitants of the country but only those who are not reactionary, and this comes to mean all those who do not follow the party line. The device by which the party is able to control every branch of government is democratic

centralism. This is paraded as the true form of democracy in contrast with the false brand of Western democracy. The minority must follow the majority; it is precluded from ever being able to become a majority through persuading others to its point of view.

Moreover, since the lower level of government must follow the higher level, the decisions are made not by the mass of the people but by those at the top. . . . Democratic centralism really means that the party leaders make the laws and then tell the people that is what they wanted.

The form of government with its popular assemblies at different levels leading up to the National Assembly, which will elect the government, is designed to give a fine show of democracy.

DECISIONS CUT AND DRIED

As the system works, however, there is nothing democratic about it. First, it is a system of indirect election, and the higher you go the farther you are from the people. Secondly, no one has the remotest chance of being elected to any public body unless he is known to follow the party line; the candidates are hand-picked. Thirdly, the Communists are past masters in the art of stage management, and all assemblies are engineered and steered behind the scenes by the party representatives. They decide the agenda, they know beforehand what resolutions are to be adopted, they guide the discussion in the way they want. . . .

A handful of Communists imposes its will on the majority and boasts that the process is entirely democratic. The New Democracy is democracy standing on its head.

Why I Left Communist China

By MA SHUN-YI

I was born into an old-fashioned and well-to-do Chinese family at Kaoyu in Northern Kiangsu. By arrangements of a go-between of my father's generation, I was married at the age of 20 to Chou En-chu, brother of Chou En-lai, who is now Premier and Foreign Minister of the Chinese Communist government. No sooner had we married than I found the Chou brothers busily engaged in Communist Party affairs, neglecting their families entirely. Under such circumstances, I was later compelled to move to my father's house with my three children and my mother-in-law, En-lai and En-chu's mother. I lived there for more than ten years.

In the winter of 1945, while the Chinese Communists were still negotiating with our government for a truce over the People's Political Consultative Conference (P.P.C.C.) table, Communist troops captured my home town—Kaoyu. My father was among the first to be ruined and tortured to death. On his death-bed, he said these words: "Shun-yi, you are a woman. I don't expect you to take revenge for me, but you must promise me that from now on you will never in your life associate with any Communists. . . ."

TWO SONS LEFT BEHIND

After my father passed away, I escaped with my three children to Shanghai. In May, 1949, when the defense of Shanghai became untenable, I made up my mind to come to Taiwan, but with my youngest child only, a girl—leaving behind my two sons. The elder son, now 20, a good-looking and studious young man, is a sophomore in

St. John's University. The younger one, now 18, is finishing his last year at Fu Hsing High School. From time to time, I cannot help feeling sad at the thought of my two sons. I resent being a woman, without the means of bringing them to Taiwan.

During my brief stay at Shanghai, we lived rather comfortably, I should say. My family owned a cotton-spinning and weaving mill at Nantung, in which my brothers occupied managerial positions. I would not have come to Taiwan at all, even after the fall of Shanghai, had I forgotten my father's last words, which, in fact, are still ringing in my ears. I might still have been in Shanghai had I forgotten the bitter experience I went through under Communist occupation, or had I been reconciled with my husband, who had become, all of a sudden, one of the "new elite" in occupied Shanghai. But finally, risking tremendous dangers and hardships, I arrived in Taiwan.

Now my living may be somewhat less comfortable than before, but I don't care about that. What I wish to do now is to tell everybody of the sufferings I personally experienced in Communist-held territory, so that every one of my fellow-countrymen can realize clearly the cruelty and inhumanity of the Communist bandits.

FATHER TORTURED TO DEATH

First of all, I wish to tell you how my family was liquidated and how my father was tortured to death.

Less than one month after the Communists entered Kaoyu, the horrible liquidation got under way. As a first step, the Red commissars demanded that we "contribute" 300 ounces of gold and 100,000 kan pei (local Communist military currency.) Although we were reasonably well-to-do, it was far beyond our means to produce so much cash at one time. However, we managed to meet this de-

mand by turning whatever we could sell on the market into cash.

As a second step, the Communists incited those who had years ago sold their houses to us to demand more money from us on the ground that we underpaid them at the time of the sale. Caught by this unreasonable demand, we could only agree, offering to return the houses to them. Strangely enough, they insisted on cash, refusing to accept the houses. As a last resort, we tore down the houses and sold the timbers for cash with which to pay the balance they claimed to be due them.

"REFUND OF RENTALS"

In the third step of liquidating our property, the Communists urged all our farm tenants to come to our house, demanding the reimbursement of the rentals we had received from them in the previous five years. Considering that we had then about 10,000 mou (approximately 1,600 acres) of farmland, we figured that the accumulated rentals amounted to a huge sum. In the face of constant threats by the commissars, we had no alternative but to sell our jewels, furniture, clothes and other valuables to meet this unheard-of "refund of rentals."

As harsh and thorough as this liquidation had been for us, it was not sufficient for the Communist bandits. One day, a mob of more than 10,000, accompanied by a gong-and-drum corps, came to our home in an attempt to bring my 81-year-old father to a people's mass meeting for "reckoning." All I could do was to volunteer to go with them in my father's stead. After being pushed and hauled through the streets, I was finally brought to the platform of the auditorium of a public high school where the mass meeting was held. A presiding commissar stood up and announced that my father had been a high government official and, therefore, deserved

liquidation. He asked the audience to report the evils my father had done, but a dead silence ensued. Nobody responded. At last, someone in the audience, presumably a Communist Party worker, broke the silence by saying that once upon a time Mr. Ma's rent collector had eaten two eggs at his home. From these two eggs, he said, two chickens could have been hatched, and those two chickens could have laid more eggs for more settings. He went on and on in this way. Thus, by a verdict of the mass meeting, was our 10,000 mou of farmland declared confiscated.

PUBLIC HUMILIATION

I was then forced to hand over all the title deeds. In order to find further fault with me, I was charged with hiding certain land tax receipts, which were actually missing. Then came a fierce beating with a whip, after which I was paraded through the main streets with their gong-and-drum band. My hands were bound. The paper hat I was given to wear and a placard which I was forced to carry on my back bore the insulting remarks: "Daughter of Reactionary Element Ma Shih-chieh."

For the next two months, I found myself in handcuffs and chains in a Communist jail. During my imprisonment, I was required in the daytime to go to the countryside, under the escort of jail wardens, to help liquidate the land we once owned. At night I was brought back to the cell. At the end of two months, I was released for reasons known only to the Communists.

On the second day of my release, the Communists came again to our home, demanding the blueprints for the Grand Canal repair project, which they knew were in my father's keeping. (*Editor's note:* Ma's father served as Civil Affairs Commissioner of the Kiangsu provincial government and, later, as director of the Grand Canal Engineering

Administration). My father flatly refused to surrender the blueprints. He was subsequently dragged to a people's mass meeting for another "reckoning." Without any inquiry or explanation, whips and fists fell violently on my father. Following this violence, he was required to make a "confession" and to kneel on the auditorium platform for "repentance" throughout the night. I was there too, but my persistent appeals to their sense of humanity toward an aged man turned out to be futile. The next morning we were brought home from this ordeal. But at nightfall, a gang of marauders raided our home. This time none of our relatives escaped a cruel beating, after which they were herded, together with my father, to the magistrate's office. The next day, my father came back a broken man.

Later, because of our failure to hand over a missing title deed for a ten-mou farm, my father received the penalty of standing for a whole day under a scorching summer sun, and I received the penalty of standing in a damp paddy field to "feed the mosquitoes" at night. The following day, I was put on a high but delicately balanced platform sustained by three long bamboo poles, called "Viewing Central Government Terrace." I fell several times, but each time I was forced to go up on that platform again.

BUTCHERY OF OPPONENTS

Furthermore, we were led in chains to be witnesses at the butchery of those whom the Communists regarded as "criminals." With my own eyes, I saw the tragic end of the daughter-in-law of my relative Chen Hsiang-yung, who was bitten to death by a poisonous snake placed in her trouser legs, both of which were tied at her ankles. With my own eyes, I saw the Communists cover a man's head with a sack full of maggots, with the opening of the sack tightened around his neck. If I were not an eye-witness,

these atrocities might seem too unbelievable to me to have happened in this world. At the sight of these cruel acts, my sick father took a turn for the worse. Nevertheless, my father, for failing to produce the missing title deeds, received a fatal beating from which he had never recovered. Then he uttered with his last breath those unforgettable words I have already quoted.

PUNISHMENT URGED BY HUSBAND

During my imprisonment an episode took place which reveals the manner in which Communists violate personal relationships. My husband, Chou En-chu, who was then an important figure in the so-called "Hwaiyin Border Government," sent a telegram to Communist headquarters at Kaoyu saying: "Old Ma, being an arch-feudalist landlord, should be thoroughly liquidated and Ma Shun-yi, being ideologically stubborn, should be severely punished." To what extreme have the Communist bandits degraded the fundamental principles of ethics!

Before I left the Chinese mainland, I wrote a letter to Chou En-chu, telling him that the reasons for my separation from him were, first, to preserve some elements of honor and dignity in the posterity of the Chou family and, secondly, to let him have a taste of the bitterness of a family's dissolution. (*Editor's note:* According to a recent report, Chou En-chu married a Peiping co-ed after Shun-yi went to Taiwan.)

Let me now describe general conditions in the Communist-occupied Chinese mainland.

As a rule, the Communists appear to be very courteous when they first take over an area. However, their pretended courtesy cannot cover up their malicious intentions of trying to control people's thoughts and activities. This is illustrated by their frequent inquisitorial interviews

with individuals and their uninvited stay in people's houses. Eavesdropping is a common practice employed by the Communists to keep close watch over people's conversation. Shortly after they get acquainted with the new area, a so-called "mutual guarantee" system will be started to insure the punishment of all in the event of one individual's deviation from the Communist Party line.

RED ARMY RECRUITMENT

The Communist method of forced recruitment is tactful. Their source of new conscripts is both the cities and the countryside. In the cities, the Communists instigate employees of stores to "reckon" with their employers, resulting almost inevitably in the closing down of the establishment and the distribution of its remaining cash and goods among the employees. To reward the "kindness" of the Communists, each paid-off employee is required to contribute a part of his share to the "proletarian state," thus leaving the worker unemployed and without means of making a living. Thus, the only alternative left to him—sometimes at the suggestion of the members of the Communist cadre—is to join the Red Army.

In the countryside, tenant farmers are urged to liquidate the landlords. To reciprocate the generosity of the Communists at the expense of the landlords, the farmer is supposed to protect his new ownership of land by sending his sons into the Red Army. As soon as his sons are gone, the peasant is ordered to surrender to the state the surplus land caused by the absence of his sons from the farm. Allotments of land to each family are made on the basis of three mou (half an acre) for each individual, including children. Furthermore, through an unprecedentedly high rate of taxation, a lion's share of the farmer's crops goes to the Communist coffers. Day in and day out, there

goes on in the countryside the endless "struggle" between the so-called poor farmers and the so-called rich farmers, until all are deprived of a living. The only thing left for them to do is to join the Red Army.

WOMEN'S "MORALE" ASSIGNMENTS

There is absolutely no freedom in Communist areas. All women are compelled to form women's associations and to engage in not-quite-honorable morale-boosting work for the Communist armed forces. Children are organized into "childrens' corps" and are assigned to spying or community guard duties. When a youngster reaches the age of 14, he is subject to conscription. Disobedience brings certain disaster upon the whole family, which, as a rule, will be charged with "secret service" to the Free China government. As a result, only old folks are left in the villages.

Under the "mutual guarantee" system, a list of local residents is posted on the bulletin board in each community. These are classified in three categories: (1) those whose names appear in red represent the cream of the community, mostly Communist Party workers; (2) those whose names appear in blue are regarded as questionable in thought and conduct; and (3) those whose names appear in white are regarded as "criminals," ready for execution. The list changes every three days.

The landlords and store-owners have become a conspicuous class by themselves, subject to ridicule and humiliation. Their hair is shaved, except for a small heart-shaped patch on top of their heads. They live by begging within the limits of ten households; if found beyond that area, they can be put to death.

Nobody is immune from the accusation of being called a "secret service" agent of the Free China government.

Such suspects can be summarily shot by the verdict of a people's mass meeting.

I saw the Communist "human sea" tactics in action. In besieging my home town, the Communists selected the "human bombs" among the peasants by lot. The victims were to scale the city walls with two hand-grenades fastened to their bodies and then throw themselves down into the city.

Frankly speaking, Communism and its principles are enigmatic to me. What purpose can it serve to pillage, loot and slaughter in order to sweep out of existence so many of the people to whom the Communists pay lip service? When I arrived at Nanking from Kaoyu, I told my friends: "In Communist bandit areas, one need not shut the doors at night, even the bedroom door." When they expressed bewilderment at my remarks, I explained: "Take my home as an example. After the liquidation of my family, there was nothing left in the house, except for a few sick people lying in bed. What was the use of shutting the door at night?"

The top Communists lead extremely luxurious and decadent lives. Well-fed and well-dressed, they let others do the dirty job of "struggling," "reckoning," etc., and send others' sons to do the fighting as cannon fodder.

PEOPLE YEARN FOR REPUBLIC

Living under such harsh rule, the people on the mainland are now eager for an early return of the Republic of China. Whenever government airplanes fly over the mainland, people look up at them with intense interest, forgetting about the possible danger of getting hurt.

As an example of this spirit, recently a group of 100-odd new recruits, while on their way to the barracks, rebelled and killed their armed Communist escorts. Subsequently

these peasant recruits were buried alive by the Communist authorities.

Although my father told me on his death-bed, "Shun-yi, you are a woman—I don't expect you to take vengeance for me," I cannot forget the inhuman wrongs inflicted on him and on all my fellow-countrymen. That's why I came to Taiwan—to carry on resistance to the Communist bandits.

RESISTANCE TO COMMUNISM

My own experience tells me that there is nothing to be afraid of about the Communists. Their rule depends entirely upon violence and duplicity. As soon as their game is understood, their very foundations will be rocked and their power will collapse. What I am worried about today is our own weaknesses. Once the psychology of doubt in ourselves is eliminated and Communist espionage activities on this free island are crushed, I firmly believe that the time of our going back to the mainland of China will not be far away.

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